1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[124] 613 273 616 539

occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the *wua*:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka leiei na mo konga ia ma, me na Tumulivaka, me na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau loa na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wai ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kaveu, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wai tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a lana ko te wai ika o te moana, ko te wai tuptua a lunga o te wenua. Kba nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te oilo mai lunga o te langi. Mimia loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Mimia loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wonu,—te wui ika,—mimia ki loto o te moana; mimia ki loto o te alo: mai te kiliotawaki, te ataolusa, te tiwitiwi, te yama, te lausami, te tau kokoti,—ko te wui ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a lana, ulu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kaveu, te kiole, ko te wui tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a lana, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanai: welele lalunga o te ulutwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te lulili, te polopoletenga,—te wui nanai e welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wuanga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Pein oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tam tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tupu atu ai, wai ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.*

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Ruvettus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kiliotawaki*, the *ataolusa*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yama*, the *lausami*, the *tau kokoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *wua* was given, the *wua* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wui Tawola (the branch of the whales).

[835]

* The reference to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the licentious propensities of their kind.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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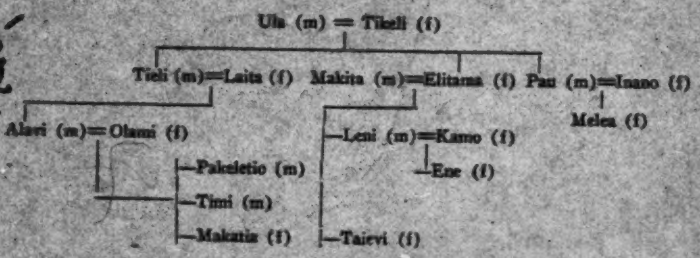

In the above genealogy, the three children of Ula and Tikeli, Tieli, Elitama, and Pau are brothers and sister. Their children of opposite sex are *hainga wakama*. Melea is a *hainga wakama* of Alavi and Leni; Taievi is *hainga wakama* to Alavi. In the next generation, children of these four are *wale atua* if of opposite sex, *taina* if of the same sex. Hence, Pakuletio and Timi are *wale atua* to Ene; Makutia and Ene are *taina*. Children of these last two, if of opposite sex, will be *wale atua*, because their parents are one generation below those who are *hainga wakama* to each other.

Midst the general confusion, Veti and other informants believed that the *wale atua* relationship arose only when there was a first-born female with brothers and sisters in the generation level from which descent was traced. This characterization would have more weight if there were other patterns in Pukapukan society pointing to the importance of the first-born female in the formulation of kinship patterns and practices. Since there are no such patterns, it is best to regard Veti's belief as incorrect and merely an example of the confusion that holds today regarding kinship structure.

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Kinship tapus and avoidances may be summarized as follows:

Kainga wakama may not marry or have love affairs with each other. They may talk together at a family meeting or when others are present, but such talk must be brief, and must be done with downcast eyes. They may talk together privately only under extreme provocation, as, for instance, to warn one another of impending danger; yet even in such an instance the rule is not often broken. They may sleep in the same room with other relatives, but not on the same mat or under the same mosquito net. They may eat together publicly, provided they eat from different food platters. Some informants say *hainga wakama* may pass each other on the road, perhaps with a brief greeting; others believe they should not pass on a path.

Wale atua tapus are more stringent, demanding a total avoidance. *Wale atua* may never communicate or talk directly to each other. They may never be in the same house together. They must avoid each other on a public road. They may be together at a public meeting, but must occupy places as far apart as possible. This tapu includes the husband or wife of a *wale atua* in relation to the reciprocal *wale atua*. Thus, the husband may talk to, but not wrestle with, the *wale atua* of his wife. He may go in a fishing canoe with her *wale atua*, provided a third party is present. He may not talk privately to his wife's *wale atua* to proffer requests for fishhooks or gear, but must wait patiently until the *wale atua* notices his need. Children of *wale atua* may speak to their parents' *wale atua*. If, while a husband is beating his wife, her *wale atua* appears, the husband desists immediately because of the tapu relation between the two people. A whipped wife might take refuge from her husband with her husband's *wale atua*, knowing

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605 visits at the house of Elia, and Molingi, Elia's wife, visits with Veti. Neither Elia nor Lotoa visits the opposite house, even when he knows the *male atua* is absent, through fear of inadvertently touching objects belonging to the other. All communication between the two is carried on through a third person.

605 The resident agent remarks on the difficulty of court work when *male*
695 *atua* are involved in a case. Neither *male atua* will appear in court to act as witness or plaintiff but insists on sending a proxy. If the agent insists that both *male atua* shall be present in his court, they turn their backs on each other, keep as far apart as possible, and direct all questions to each other through intermediaries.

602 The intense fear that exists between *male atua* relatives is supported by
835 the cultural fiction that they are potentially and actually more interested in
588 each other emotionally than in other members of the opposite sex:

753 Sometimes in spite of the fears *male atua* become so shameless as to consummate an emotional attraction. Formerly, where this actually happened and was discovered, the couple were rendered outcasts by their families, who prayed to their family gods to punish with sickness the terrible sin. The common punishment asked for was fatal infection of the two *male atua* and their descendants for ever and ever. Some informants decided to take the incidence of filaria today as due to forgotten or half-forgotten *male atua* incest in the families of those affected. One well-remembered case is that of Pukalo who married his *male atua*, Weseta, just after the mission was established. Husband and wife, their twelve children, and numerous grandchildren all suffered and continues to suffer to this day from filarial infection. One old man, a great Christian, solemnly assured me that his filaria was due to the fact that his first wife was his *male atua*, whom he married in an witness of Christian zeal with an idea of proving that old tapus were worthless. He expressed no regret at his hasty action.

[171]

602 The attraction of *male atua* for each other is mentioned many times in the old love
539 chants (*hapio*), many of which seem to have their origin either in a hopeless or in a
835 unrequited affection of one *male atua* for another. When asked for explanations for the *male atua* tapu, informants could only quote the two following sections from *hapio*. The explanation is obscure and can not now be clarified, but there is no mistaking the intensity of emotion that finds expression:

[illegible] Tau ngai Mauliki (the Finished). I am Tuia
[illegible] (We Both) like two dissolute together (as do
[illegible] slaves slave)
[illegible] There to me, all my male atua
[illegible] You are yourself, you are the same plane
[illegible] (by which) my heart has longed;
[illegible] (Where I am you) my equal, female like the
[illegible] beginning (female) of the female atua.

The second short verse:

[illegible] I had longed my desires (for my male atua).
[illegible] You dissolute agents (instead of me) and make
[illegible] for my desire.
[illegible] Dead is my heart (with shame).
[illegible] Lost to my shameful deed.
[illegible] Oh, my desire for you!
[illegible] (Your) desire in the depths of my heart,
[illegible] (Your) shameful deed. (By it) as where you go,
[illegible] I return home (this place) by the male road.
[illegible] You there to me (for) my pain.
[illegible] Like our mutual weakness (through) we shall have
[illegible] destruction, shan't we?

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this case that his love for his *wale atua* is *kai hamanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai oulonga* (incest).

No reference to *wale atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people. Among the younger generations, several *wale atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to trick his protesting relatives by being secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *wale atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very best that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

Conception is known as *te tuhutiinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te tuhuhiinga or te ihonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iho* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te mena ko iho ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

Conception involves an organ (*mama*) in both the male and female (*mama* is given elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *mama*, the female secretion enters the male *mama*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *mama* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *mama* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *mama* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

539 Unuwia ki mua, e ayaka, wakamalini vale tamawine--
Lalapa pe te ika matayau,
E manu no te kauaua ya wakapopoti wulu malie,
Pipi ko te tane, koa lelei,
Tukia kiai te tini i te po, na wakatata e ulu uyi;
Mumu i te lau o te tiniu, wakataukati manatua,
E wetuki veve ki o lelei
Wunaia. Pe Wakatapukula o longo,
E ye lakaia tuku talatala ina kikino
Ni ta atua angaoti, e ye uyuia,
Wakayila ki te kili uyiuyi!

Come to the front, o expert dancer, you whose skill causes maidens' secretions to flow--
Broad you are as the fish of Te Auma's point,
Or as a bird of the sandy beach, fine feathers beautifully preened,
Glorious is your skin with its Tinea spots,
Struck there by the countless spirits of the Underworld, colorers also of your black hair;
Over you buzz the hundreds of women, quarreling, jealous,
Hastening, running to your beauty,
Hiding you. Yours is the fame of legendary Wakatapukula,
Do not jump for them, do not allow them to talk, the ugly women,
You are indeed made as the gods are made, none surpasses you,
You, whose dark skin flashes and shines!

A Man's lament for his Dead Cousin-in-Avoidance (1)

Unia te tupu tamawine, koa laoia ngalo i te ao--
Na ulu taku tangi tukapawua, to pukepuke i toku tino.

Removed is the girlish body, choked to death, lost to the world--
Filled with sorrow, I dance with grief, my body falling from side to side.

[835] 1. This is a lament (tangi) composed by Liliku of Matanga lineage in Ngake, for his cousin-in-avoidance (wale atua), Tuiloa of the same lineage and village. Between a man and his cousin-in-avoidance the strictest tapu was observed see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 259-263, category 116--analyst.] Ideology holds that between these two there is great sexual attraction which may under no circumstances be indulged in during life. On the death of one cousin-in-avoidance, however, it was permissible and indeed expected, that the cousin of the opposite sex would indulge in a violent frenzy of grief. This chant illustrates some of the very deep passion that gives reality to the cousin-in-avoidance relationship.